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Edited by: R. C. ROY, D. N. MAJUMDAR,
K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY and
N. K. BOSE

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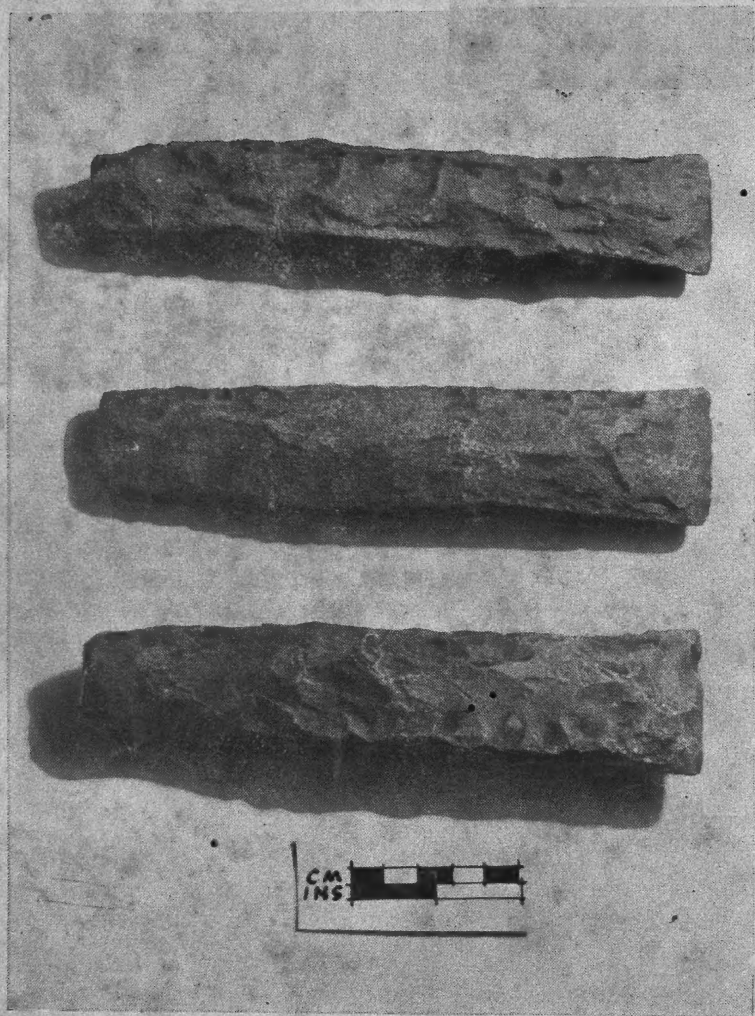
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Editors : Romesh Chandra Roy
D. N. Majumdar
K. P. Chattopadhyay
N. K. Bose

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Stone Chisels from Thakurani

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MAN IN INDIA

Vol. XXXII]

January—March, 1952

[No. 1

REPORT ON THE PALMAR PRINTS OF THE RAJIS OF ASKOTE

By S. C. Tiwari

THE Rajis of Askote living in the District of Almora (U. P.) are immensely interesting, partly because their customs are so simple and unique, but still more because we do not find any previous record of these people except for a few remarks in some books. Difficulties of communication and the shyness of the tribesmen, have left them alone and that is how no anthropological study of this tribe has been made so far.

This article is the first of a series on these people and consists of an account of the palmar prints of the Rajis. I have worked on 100 palm prints of 50 Rajis including 35 male and 15 female out of the total population of approximately 300.

MAIN LINE FORMULA

(TABLE-1)

No.	Formula	Right	Left	Sum	%
1	7.5.5.1	1	2	3	3
2	7.5.5.3	1	2	3	3
3	7.5.5.4	—	1	1	1
4	8.7.5.3	—	1	1	1
5	9.7.5.1	—	2	2	2
6	9.7.5.3	4	13	17	17
7	9.7.5.4	—	1	1	1
8	9.7.5.5	7	3	10	10
9	9.0.5.4	—	1	1	1
10	9.x.5.1	—	1	1	1
11	9.x.5.3	—	1	1	1
12	10.7.8.3	1	—	1	1

In the following table shows the frequency of various formulae in the right and left hand. Here we find that among the Rajis' 11. 9. 7 formula occurred more in the right hand whereas 9. 7. 5. and 7. 5. 5. appeared more in the left hand.

Table showing frequency of 11. 9. 7,—9. 7. 5,—and 7. 5. 5—formulae in the right and left hand of Rajis :—

TABLE III

Formula.	Right hand.	Left hand.
11.9.7	22.0%.	11.0%.
9.7.5	11.0%.	19.0%.
7.5.5	2.0%.	5.0%.

TABLE IV

In the following table the frequency of the different endings of the four main lines D,C,B, and A in percentage is given:

Endings.	Line D			Line C			Line B			Line A		
	r	l	m	r	l	m	r	l	m	r	l	m
0	—	—	—	—	8	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0	6
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	58	44
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	10	6
5	—	—	—	4	10	7	20	34	27	4	—	2
5	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	22	14	70	22	46
6	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	3	—	—	—
7	4	10	7	26	44	35	56	40	48	—	—	—
8	—	2	1	—	—	—	12	—	6	—	—	—
9	22	44	33	44	26	35	2	—	1	—	—	—
10	2	6	4	12	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	72	38	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
x	...	...	...	4	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
X	...	...	...	10	8	9	2	...	1	...	...	...

The main line D ends in the following five areas 7, 8, 9, 10. and 11. Among the hundred hands of the Rajis the line D ends 7 times on the area 7, only once on 8, 33 times on area 9, 4 times on 10 and 55 times on area 11. It shows that the main line D runs more towards the radial side.

The line C ends on the areas 0, 5', 7, 9, 10 x and X. The complete absence of triradius C is seen in 4 cases. The line C ends 7 times on area 5', 35 times on area 7 and 9 respectively and 6 times on area 10. The types x and X occur in 4 and 9 cases respectively. Thus we see line C runs equally to the radial and ulnar side. The line B runs to the ulnar side. It ends on the areas 5', 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and x of which it ends on the areas 5', 5 and 7 in larger numbers. In the population of European Americans this line ends in 5 (44. 7%) and 7 (40. 7%), whereas in the Monogolians it ends more on the area 5 (about 70%).

The line A ends on the areas 1, 3, 4, 5' and 5 of which it ends mostly on the area 5 (48. 0%) and on area 3 (40. 0%). The line A runs always to the ulnar side.

Asymmetry of the four main lines (D.C.B.A.) on the right and left hand.

The endings of the four main lines show a marked difference between the right and left hand. The line D on the left hand ends on the area 9 in larger numbers and on the area 11 in smaller numbers whereas in the right hand it ends more frequently on the area 11 than 9. On the area 7 the line D runs on the right hand in 4%, and on the left hand in 10%. But on the area 9 the line D ends 22% on the right and 44% on the left hand. On the area 10 it ends on the right hand in 2% and on the left hand in 6%. Whereas on the area 11, it ends in 72% in the right hand and in 38% in the left hand.

The line C ends on the area 9 in larger numbers in the right hand (44%), whereas in the left hand it ends in 26%. On the area 7 it ends in larger numbers in the left hand 44%, whereas in the right hand it ends in 26%. The absence of triradius is seen only in the left hand in 8%, whereas abortive triradii are present in equal numbers in the left and right hands.

We find less divergence in the course of main line B in the right and left hand.

In the right hand it ends on the areas, 5', 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and X in 20%, 6%, 2%, 56%, 12%, 2% and 2% respectively. In the left hand it ends on the areas 5', 5, 6 and 7 in 34%, 22%, 4% and 40% respec-

tively. Thus we find course of main line B is less divergent in the case of left hand as compared to the right hand.

The line A on the right hand ends on the area 5 in larger numbers 70% whereas in the left it ends more frequently on the area 3 (58%). On the area 1 the line A runs on the right hand in 2%, and on the left hand in 10%. On the area 3, it ends on the right hand in 22% and on the left hand in 58%. On the area 4, it ends in 2% in the right and 10% in the left hand. The line A ends in 5' only in the right hand in 4%. But on the area 5 the line C ends on the right hand in 70% and on the left hand in 22%.

Pattern on the Hypothenar Area.

Cummins and others showed that on the hypothenar area of human palm various patterns are present. He classified them as follows :—

1. Whorl.....W
2. Loop.....L $\begin{cases} L^u & \text{opens towards the Ulnar side.} \\ L^r & \text{Radial} \\ L^c & \text{Carpal} \end{cases}$
3. Tented Arch.....T $\begin{cases} T^u & \text{Ulnar} \\ T^r & \text{Radial} \\ T^c & \text{Carpal} \end{cases}$
4. Simple Arch.....A $\begin{cases} A^u & \text{Ulnar} \\ A^r & \text{Radial} \\ A^c & \text{Carpal} \end{cases}$

If the ridge count for the pattern loop in the interdigital area is less than 6 the formula is given as '1' and if more, 'L'. In case of Hypothenar area same rule holds good except that ridge count is taken as 8 instead of 6.

Sometimes it can be seen, in the human hand on the Hypothenar are two patterns occur side by side, often separated by axial triradius, and it can be seen also one on the distal side and the other on the proximal side of the Hypothenar area. Pattern like letter S also forms on that area. Sometimes we find lines multiply and this condition is known as Multiplication, denoted by term M. We also find vestige of patterns which is formulated as V. The frequency of the appearance of various patterns on the Hypothenar area of the Rajis is given below :—

TABLE V.

Types of pattern.	Right hand.	Left hand.	Sum.
O	20	18	38
1r /Lr	1	—	1
V/Lc	1	—	1
Lr	6	5	11
Lr /Au	—	1	1
Lr /Ac	—	1	1
Au	12	11	23
Ac	3	8	11
Ar	1	—	1
Tr	1	—	1
M/Au	1	—	1
Ac /V	—	1	1
M	2	5	7
S	1	—	1
V/M	1	—	1
Total	50	50	50

The arch (Au) appears in the Raji hands on the Hypothenar area in large numbers (23%). The pattern loop opening on to the radial side, occurs in 11%. • •

In the table below I give the occurrence of pattern loop in the Raji hands :—

TABLE VI.

Pattern.	Right hand.	Left hand.	Total.
1r /Lr	1	—	1
V/Lc	1	—	1
Lr	6	5	11
Lr /Au	—	1	1
Lr /Ac	—	1	1
S	1	—	1
Total	9	7	16

The frequency of the appearance of pattern loop in 100 Raji hands is 16.0% (18% in the right hand and 14% in the left hand) on the Hypothenar area.

In the following table comparative list of pattern loop in different races is given :—

TABLE VII.

Races.	Percentage.	Hands.	Authors.
{European Americans	37.1	600	Cummins.
Ainus	36.4	110	Hasebe.
{European Americans.	41.0	200	Wilder.
Indians.	32.0	100	Biswas.
Indians.	42.5	52	Schlaginhaufen.
Bengali	20.0	100	Biswas.
Oriyas.	35.0	100	Biswas & Chaudhari.
Jaunsaris	22.0	150	Rao.
Japanese	29.3	552	Hasebe.
Japanese	23.0		
Chinese	16.9	616	Shino.
Chinese	12.5		
Koreans	23.5	268	Miyake.
Red-Indians.	5.4	37	Cummins.
Eskimos.	20.7	135	Abel.
Rajis.	16.0	100	Tiwari.

In the above table we find, loops in the Hypothenar area occur more in white race and Indians, whereas among Mongolians it is smaller in percentage. In the above table we find pattern loop occur in the Japanese, Chinese, Koreans and Eskimos in 26.15%, 14.7%, 23.5% and 20.7%, whereas in the Rajis it occur in 16.0%.

Pattern on the Thenar and 1st Interdigital Area.

In the human hand on the thenar area the same type of patterns occur as in the Hypothenar area. Among the 100 Raji hand we have got the following patterns:—

TABLE VIII

Types of pattern.	Right.	Left.	Sum.
Lu /lr	1	—	1
Lr /V	—	2	2
Lr	—	1	1
W/V	—	1	1
V	1	2	3
O	48	44	92

In the thenar area we have got 8 hands with pattern including 3 vestige, and 92 hands without any pattern. We find usually the patterns occur in the left hand.

In the following table percentage of pattern loop in the thenar area of different races is given:—

TABLE IX

Races.	Percentage.	Hands.	Authors.
European, Americans.	5.5	600	Cummins.
Ainus.	5.5	110	Hasebe.
Indians.	15.3	52	Schlaginhaufen.
Indians.	13.0	100	Biswas.
Oriyas.	7.0	100	Biswas & Chaudhari.
Bengalis.	14.0	100	Biswas.
Jaunsaris.	5.3	150	Rao.
Japanese.	5.3	552	Hasebe.
Japanese.	6.9	390	Wilder.
Chinese.	11.4	616	Shino.
Koreans.	16.5	268	Miake.
Red-Indians.	48.0	37	Cummins.
Eskimos.	4.4	135	Abel.
Rajis.	4.0	100	Tiwari.

Pattern on the Interdigital Areas.

There are four interdigital areas on the human palm-I, II III and IV. In actual formulation, I interdigital area is considered with the thenar pattern. On the three interdigital areas (II, III and IV) same patterns, generally the loop, whorl, multiplication, Vestige and 'Neben triradius' (Accessory triradii) occurs. The following table consists of an account of patterns in the interdigital areas.

TABLE X

Interdigital areas.	II				III				IV			
	Right.	Left.	Total.	%	Right.	Left.	Total.	%	Right.	Left.	Total.	%
Loop.	—	—	—	—	27	11	38	38	12	18	30	30
Neben triradius												
with loop.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Whorl.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vestige.	—	—	—	—	7	7	14	14	5	5	10	10
Multiplication.	12	4	16	16	3	4	7	7	13	6	19	19
No pattern.	38	46	84	84	13	28	41	41	20	20	40	40
Total ...	50	50	100	...	50	50	100	...	50	50	100	...

From the above table it can be observed that no loops are present in the II interdigital area whereas III interdigital area consists of large number of loops (38 %) and IV interdigital area has 30 % loops. Neben triradius is present only in one case in the left hand. It is significant that no true patterns are seen in the II interdigital area.

Besides "loops" other patterns on the interdigital areas seen in 100 Raji hands are Multiplication and vestige. Multiplication occur in the II interdigital area 16 %, III interdigital area 7 %, IV interdigital area 19 %, and vestige occur in the III interdigital area (14 %), and IV interdigital area (10 %).

We find that different combination formulae occur in the three interdigital areas of 100 Raji hands. In the following table L signifies 'loop', M 'Multiplication', V 'Vestige' and N/T 'Neben triradius' while O stands for no pattern. Thus we find that the three formulae O-O-L, O-L-O and O-O-O appear in higher frequency on the Raji hands.

In table XI, I have given percentage of these formulae in different races :—

TABLE XI.

Races.	0-0-L	0-L-0	0-0-0	Hands.	Authors.
Indians.	32.7	40.4	0.0	52	Schloginhaufen.
Indians.	29.0	27.0	9.0	100	Biswas.
Bengalis.	26.0	11.0	45.0	100	Biswas.
Oriyas.	21.0	17.0	39.0	100	Biswas and Chau- dhari.
Ainus.	40.9	21.4	19.1	110	Hasebe.
Koreans.	51.1	10.5	20.9	268	Miyake.
Chinese.	54.1	15.1	13.9	616	Shino.
Japanese.	53.1	13.6	22.1	552	Hasebe.
Jaunsaris.	32.7	9.7	20.7	150	Rao.
Rajis.	21.0	15.0	15.0	100	Tiwari.

Asymmetry of the pattern areas (Hypothenar, Thenar, and four interdigitals) on the right and left hand :—

For comparison I have taken only pattern 'loop' in to consideration. We find that there is no striking difference in the occurrence of pattern "Loop", on the right and left hand in hypothenar, Thenar, first and second interdigitals. Whereas on the III and IV interdigital marked difference is noticeable. On the III interdigital area pattern "loop" is present on the right hand in 27% and on the left hand in 11%. Again on the IV interdigital area "Loop" is present on the right hand in 12% while on the left hand in 18%.

Axial Triradius.

The axial triradius or carpal triradius is present on the proximal side of the palm in the middle of the wrist, in between the Hypothenar and Thenar areas. The position of axial triradius varies in different hands. In the following table I have given different conditions as seen in the 100 Raji hands :—

TABLE XII.

Axial triradii.	Right.	Left.	Total.
t	13	12	25
t'	18	22	40
t''	5	2	7
t't''	1	1	2
p	6	3	9
pt	6	5	11
pt'	—	3	3
?	1	2	3
Total.	50	50	100

Thus we find in Rajis the axial triradii is mostly seen in the t' position. From the above table it appears that t' (carpal triradius) occurs in 25% (13% in the right hand and 12% in the left), t' (middle axial (triradius) in 40% (18% right hand and 22% left hand), t'' (central triradius) in 7% (5% Right hand and 2% in the left hand), t't'' (middle axial triradius with central triradius) in 2% (1% right hand and 1% left hand) p (parting) occurs in 9% (6% right hand and 3% left hand), pt (parting with carpal triradius) in 11% (6% in the right hand and 5% left hand), pt' (parting with middle axial triradius) is seen in 3% (0% in the right hand and 3% in the left hand), in 3 hands the position of axial triradius was difficult to locate because of incomplete prints.

TABLE No. XIII.

COMPARISON BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE MAIN LINE AND PATTERN FORMULAE.

Main Line Formula.			Pattern Formulae.							
Type of Formula.			Hypothenar Area (Pattern Loop only).		Thenar Area.		Interdigital Area.			
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.		Female.	
11.9.7	31.4%	36.6%	14.3%	20.0%	5.6%	—	III	IV	III	IV
9.7.5	30.0%	30.0%				—	38.°	62.7.1°	36.7°	36.°
7.5.5	7.1%	6.6%								

The main line formulae 11.9.7.—9.7.5.—and 7.5.5.—do not show any marked difference between the male and female. In the hypothenar area we find pattern loop occurs more in the female. From the above table it can be observed that loops occur almost in equal percentage in the III interdigital area of female and male palm whereas in the IV interdigital area loops occur in greater frequency in female hands.

A glance at the adjoining tables show that the Rajis have got some similarities with mongoloid people in palmar configuration.

The main line formulae 11. 9. 7.—and 9. 7. 5.—appears in approximately equal percentage among them. The formulae 9. 7. 5.—appears in larger number which confirms the above view as 9. 7. 5.—is a Mongoloid formulae.

Again, in the occurrence of pattern loop on the hypothenar area the Rajis stand nearer the Mongoloids. If we see Table VII where comparative list of pattern loop in the hypothenar area of different races is given, we find that loops occur more in Europeans, Indians and Ainus whereas among the Mongoloids and Rajis the percentage is considerably low. The pattern loop occurs in the hypothenar area of the Japanese palm in 26. 15, in Chinese 14. 7% in Koreans 23. 5%, in Red Indians 5. 4%, in Eskimos 20. 7%, and in Rajis 16. 0% whereas in European-Americans it occurs in 37. 1% and 41. 0% according to Communis and Wilder respectively.

A NEW STONE IMPLEMENT FROM ORISSA

By Y. D. Sharma,

EARLY in 1948 a new stone implement was passed on to the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, by Dr. W. D. West, the then Director, Geological Survey of India, with the information that the implement had been found by an officer of Bird & Co. at Thakurani in Barajamda area (old Keonjhar State, now merged into Orissa) where the company were quarrying for iron ore. To begin with, it was reported that there were three other implements of the same type and that all four of them lay about 3' to 4' below the surface forming the sides of a square as it were. Later Mr. J. H. S. Waddington, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, visited Thakurani and came to know that the four implements were found lying not squarewise as earlier reported but one beside the other. In any case, it looked as if they had been purposely placed there in this position. One of the implements was reported to have broken into pieces during the quarrying operations and was consequently thrown away by the workers. The remaining three are illustrated here in Plates I and II. The type seems to have a limited distribution as far as my knowledge goes. It is described here in brief, in the hope that if other specimens of the type have come to the notice of any readers, it may be possible to correlate them with the present find and arrive at a more definite conclusion as regards their distribution and cultural affiliations.

These celts, or stone chisels as I describe them, are made of fine-grained blackish chert, which is not native to their findspot but is obtainable at Chardhara in Bonai State, some 15 miles away to the south. All the chisels have a rough chipped surface and are covered with a thin rust-coloured patina. As may be judged from the photographs, they are all approximately of the same size. On average they measure 7" in length, 0.8" wide at the butt-end and 1 3/4" wide at the cutting edge, with an average thickness of 1" in the middle. Both the ends are sharp, but more particularly the wider cutting edge which flattens out as if in imitation of a metal chisel. The ends being sharp, the sides have a pointed oval or elongated leaf-shaped section.

I have searched for analogous material in the collections accessible to me and the results of my search are noted below:-

1. In the Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneshvar, there is a celt which is exactly similar to those from Thakurani, even in details of material, size and patina. According to the records of the Museum, this implement was presented by the Raja Saheb of Dasapalla, but when the Raja Saheb was addressed to enlighten us on the findspot of the implement, he replied that he had never presented anything to the Museum. In any case, even if the Museum records are inadequate, it may be taken for granted that the implement probably comes from some other Orissa State or adjacent territory.

2. There is a similar stone chisel, but much larger and heavier (8.3" long, 1.2" wide at top end, 2.25" wide at the cutting edge, with an average thickness of 1.3" in the middle), and partly polished in the Patna Museum, Patna (No. 482; shown on Plate IIIa). This is also made from fine-grained chert but of a blacker colour. The actual findspot of the implement is unknown and all that has been possible to ascertain about it is that it was obtained from the district of Santal Parganas and was presented to the Museum by Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, one of the pioneers of Stone Age studies in India.

3. A third celt, closely resembling the Thakurani implements but made from greyish sandstone is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 3241, vide J. Coggin Brown, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, p. 130, Plate IX, fig. 9). It is illustrated here in Plate IIIb, and it may be noticed that its cutting edge does not flatten out as abruptly and to the same extent as that of the Thakurani chisels. It is recorded to have come from Bagicha Tappa, Kakea Jashpur, Chota Nagpur. Another celt from Burma in the Indian Museum vide Coggin Brown, op. cit., plate IX, fig. 5) has only a superficial resemblance with our find, as the former has markedly rounded ends instead of flat sharp ones.

4. Recently two chisels of Thakurani type, one broken and another complete, have been picked up from Sitabhanji in old Keonjhar State. Situated on the river Sita, Sitabhanji is better known for an ancient rock painting and an extensive town site going back to about the 4th century A. D., but it is rich in lithic remains as well (vide, T. N. Ramchandran, *Find of tempere painting in Sitabhanji-Orissa* in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XIV, No. 1. p. 1 and it would be interesting to see if it is possible to bridge the gap between the age of the painting and the

town site on one hand and that of these implements on the other.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence so far available is extremely meagre to enable us to place this new implement in its proper cultural context. It seems almost certain, however, that even though it might be described as a neolith, it belongs to the metal age, as its flattened out cutting edge clearly indicates. Its distribution seems to be confined to the hilly tracts of Orissa and adjoining territories. It is generally agreed that some of the lithic types in India are connected with certain groups of tribes, which in turn are associated with certain language complexes. As the hills from which the above mentioned implements come are populated mainly by aboriginal tribes speaking Munda languages (Cp. map on plate IV), who have often been found using stone implements to this day, can it be suggested, tentatively, that this implement represents a characteristic type that was fashioned by the remote ancestors of these particular tribes ?

SHAMIRPET *

The Social Structure of an Indian Village

By S. C. Dube

VILLAGE life in India presents several diverse and interesting patterns. While it is difficult to point out any single village which can be regarded as typical of India as a whole, all over the land the villages have some basic similarities in their structure, organisation and problems. There are, indeed, several excellent accounts of the patterns of tribal life in India, but no comparable descriptions of Indian village life have so far been published. Vast changes of far-reaching magnitude are fast over-taking our villages. For this reason it is necessary that the social scientist and the field-worker should now give some attention to the study of village-life in the different parts of the country. The results of such research would be of great assistance in the formulation of plans for rural development and village reconstruction. Besides, such studies will also present a true picture of the indigenous regional cultures of the country.

The village of Shamirpet is situated by the side of a beautiful lake, some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad. The landscape is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau of India. The land surrounding the village is rocky, but it is dotted all over by green shrubs and tall palmyra trees. Until 1948, Hyderabad was a feudal state, and Shamirpet itself was a part of a small estate granted as a *jagir* by the ruler of Hyderabad. Hyderabad has since witnessed the inauguration of a democratic order, and is now a part of the Union of India. Several radical measures have been taken in the direction of land reform in the Hyderabad State and all the *jagirs* and feudal estates have now been abolished. Several feudal traits, however, still survive in Shamirpet. Although it is so close to the twin cities of Hyderabad

*This is the first instalment of a detailed community-study which the author has recently completed under the Osmania University Social Service Extension project. Besides the research staff and students of the department of Sociology and Anthropology the author was assisted by the members of the Faculties of Agriculture, Medicine, Engineering and Veterinary Sciences who stayed with him in the village for a considerable length of time and collected material under his guidance and supervision.

and Secunderabad, ranked fourth in India in respect of the size of their population, Shamirpet is far from being merely a rural suburban extension of the city. It is an independent village, with a distinctive organisation of its own.

According to the 1941 census the total population of Shamirpet—including the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli—is 2494. In all there are 508 houses in the village. The Hindus constitute the majority community; there being 1434 Hindu residents in the village. To these must be added the 680 *harijans* or members of the untouchable castes. They are all Hindu, though they occupy the lowest rung in the ladder of caste hierarchy. The number of Muslims is only 340. An overwhelming number of people in the village speak Telugu which is the language of the Telangana area in which the village is situated. These number 2008. Those who speak Urdu, the language of the former Muslim rulers of the State, number only 387. Most of the Muslim men are, however, bi-lingual. Although they speak only Urdu at home they have at least a working knowledge of spoken Telugu.

The three broad divisions of the population of Shamirpet are :—

- (i) Hindus belonging to clean castes.
- (ii) Hindus belonging to untouchable or un-clean castes.
- (iii) Muslims.

Out of these the Muslims are a homogeneous group. They all belong to the 'Sunni' division of their faith and constitute a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. Since in this village there are no great inequalities of wealth among the Muslims, we do not find much evidence of any class distinctions in them. The organisation of Hindu castes and their relative position is, however, very complex. This requires a detailed and careful examination.

The clean castes among the Hindus can be further sub-divided into the following groups :

- (i) Brahmin (Priests).
- (ii) Komti (Merchants).
- (iii) Kummari (Potters).
- (iv) Golla (Shepherds).
- (v) Panch Bramha Castes :
 - (a) Wadla (Carpenter).
 - (b) Kammari (Blacksmith).

- (c) Ausula (Goldsmith).
- (d) Kase (Bronze-smith).
- (e) Kanchari (Sculptor).
- (vi) Kapu or agricultural castes :
 - (a) Reddi.
 - (b) Muttarasii.
 - (c) Tenugu.
 - (d) Besta.
 - (e) Munnor.

Among the castes who are not included among the untouchables, but whose status is supposed to be inferior to that of the clean castes listed above, are :

- (i) Sale (Weaver).
- (ii) Gaondla (Toddy-tapper).
- (iii) Sakli (Washerman).
- (iv) Mangli (Barber).

People who have had a tribal origin, but who have since been assimilated into the fold of Hindu caste-organisation have a special status. It is difficult to define it exactly. They are not regarded to be as high as the clean castes nor are they untouchables either. But it is difficult to say whether their position is superior or inferior to the Sale-Gaondla-Sakli-Mangli group. In this group we can place the following castes :

- (i) Vaddar (Stone breakers)
- (ii) Erkala (Hunters and basket-makers)
- (iii) Pich-Kuntla (A caste of people who live by narrating the legends pertaining to the gotra or clans of the different castes, specially the agriculturists).

There are only two untouchable castes in Shamirpet: Mala and Madiga. Among them the Mala are regarded as superior. They neither touch nor eat at the hands of the Madiga who are regarded as inferior to them in social status. Both these castes have many sub-divisions. The Mala are traditionally divided into twelve and half groups. The Madiga have five major sub-divisions. The lowest section in both castes is invariably nomadic, and depends on the charity of the superior sections of the caste for its subsistence.

Among these castes the social position of the Brahmin priest is decidedly the highest. All castes except the Panch-Bramha groups can partake of food at the hands of the Brahmin. The Komti are an exclusive group. They do not invite the Brahmin to officiate at their marriages and other ceremonies. Except the Brahmin and the Panch-Bramha group all castes eat at the hands of the Komti. The Kummari is regarded as superior to the Gollas and the agricultural castes; but they all freely inter-dine with one another. However, they do not inter-marry. The Panch-Bramha castes are a composite group. They freely inter-marry and inter-dine among one another. They do not eat at the hands of any other castes. No other castes, with the sole exception of the Madiga, accept food at their hands. The Kapu also have a relatively high social status. They will accept food from the Brahmin, the Komti and the Kummari; but the last three do not inter-dine with the Kapu. The other inferior caste groups i. e. Sale, Gaondla, Sakli and Mangli, Vaddar, Erkala and Pichh-Kuntla, Mala and Madiga freely accept food from the Kapu. Sale, Gaondla, Sakli and Mangli are exclusive and independent castes. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine with one another. They do not accept food from the Panch-Bramha group, nor from the ex-tribal or untouchable groups. The Vaddar, Erkala and Pichh-Kuntla do not inter-dine among themselves. They do not accept food from the Panch-Bramha group, nor from the untouchable castes. The Madiga eat at the hands of the Malas but the latter having a higher status regard the Madiga as untouchable and cannot take food defiled by their impure touch.

When we look at the social structure of Shamirpet from the level of class, rather than that of caste, we get a somewhat different picture. From the class angle the Reddis have the highest position and the other Kapu groups closely follow them. People in these groups are mostly substantial cultivators. The Komti and the Brahmin can be placed in the next category, the former because he is invariably a petty merchant and comparatively rich, the latter because his traditional social position is so high that even his comparative poverty cannot take him very low. In the next category we can place Muslim shop-keepers, Kummari, Panch-Bramha group, and others who either have sufficient land or hold minor government offices in the village. For the rest the caste and class levels are more or less identical. They are traditionally supposed to be menial castes, having definite functions attached to them. As a reward for their performing these functions small patches of land, varying in size, were given free

of rent to the various lower caste groups. The Golla are a comparatively superior caste; but they have the unenviable reputation of being simpletons, and as such they are the laughing stock of the community. On account of their crude ways the Golla do not enjoy much social prestige. This is true, but to a much lesser extent, of the Kummari also.

Authority in the village is diffused in at least five different agencies.

- (i) Caste authority for the whole region.
- (ii) Caste authority for the village.
- (iii) The Deshmukh or the landlord of the village.
- (iv) The village officers.
- (v) Leaders of rival factions acting against the Deshmukh or the village officers.

It goes without saying that the dominant authority in all subjects is that of the Government of India and the Government of Hyderabad whose laws are enforced and obeyed here; but in socio-religious matters the people have considerable autonomy. The different castes of the tract have their own Panchayats constituted by the elders of the caste and the other rich, influential or educated persons. Important socio-religious matters from a large group of neighbouring villages go to these central caste Panchayats. However, for each caste within the village itself there is a Peddamanchi, literally meaning 'big man' or elder. Depending on the personality, character and ability of the Peddamanchi, the authority in regard to caste matters in the village may be exercised by him individually, or by him in consultation with the other elders or in some cases even by some one else on his behalf. For the adjudication of inter-caste disputes the people customarily go to the Deshmukh. Deshmukh literally means land-lord; but in actual practice he was only an agent of the Jagirdar, the feudal chief to whom the estate was given by the ruler of the Hyderabad State. The main function of the Deshmukh used to be the collection of land revenue. For this service he received a considerable area of land free of rent. In course of time these Deshmukhs arrogated to themselves many more powers and became *de facto* chiefs of the village. In village disputes also they began exercising their authority.

In Shamirpet the Deshmukh decides the disputes either personally or in consultation with the three *ganadi*, who hold the post traditionally and sit with him in council to hear inter-caste disputes from the

village. He may also decide the disputes in consultation with the elders of the castes who are parties to the dispute. Among the village officers the Patwari, a petty revenue official who keeps the land records of the village, occupies a pivotal position in the affairs of the village. Although his authority is not as great as that of the Deshmukh, some people voluntarily come to him for his mediation in their disputes. From time to time rival factions, organise themselves in opposition to the Deshmukh and seek to challenge his self-arrogated judicial authority. Under such situations much depends on the personality, resourcefulness and diplomacy of the Deshmukh. At the time of our investigation there were two or three powerful factions in the village ; but now it is reported that their leaders have been won over by the Deshmukh. In case of a conflict between caste elders and the Deshmukh, it is invariably the latter who wins because of his more favourable and powerful position, but as far as possible they seek to avoid any such clashes and conflicts.

CEREMONIAL LIFE AMONG THE GADDI PEOPLE OF BHARMOUR CHAMBA STATE, HIMACHAL PRADESH

By Bishambhar Das Chowhan

(Communicated by W. H. Newell)

WHILE recently spending a week's holiday in the Kangra District, I climbed over 14,000 ft. pass into Himachal Pradesh and spent two days in Bharmour. I there made the acquaintance of the author of this MS and was so impressed with it that I asked his permission to select a portion of it to be printed. This is what follows with certain minor changes in arrangement and footnotes on the non-English words in the text. These footnotes are also by Dr. Chowhan.

Dr. Chowhan is himself a Gaddi and his wife is also born and brought up in the Bharmour valley. With the recent advances in the understanding of ritual, a manuscript such as this becomes very important. It may not be many years in the future when the small differences in the ritual in different areas may throw important light on theory.

The Gaddi people live half in the Kangra valley and half in the Chamba state separated by high mountains going up to 20,000 ft. They are not tribespeople however, but consider themselves as good Hindus who to preserve their religious beliefs amid the Mohammeden persecution under King Aurangzeb fled to the hills. They are divided into agriculturists and herders of sheep and for the most part wear a distinctive short coat coming down to just above their knees woven on their own looms from their own sheep. During the winter the upper reaches of the mountains are covered with snow and in that time those Gaddi who live in the tops come down to the plains. Here is the text of Dr. Chowhan's MS.

"Life in Bharmour is divided into two parts, a winter and a summer life. Most families have two homes, in the outer and lower Himalayan hills, and in the inner and higher ranges in Bharmour. They have got the following customs, traditions, superstitions and other modes of domestic life.

Customs. All Gaddi consider marriage a normal state for people and believe in the saying "No life without a wife". They regard men and women as seed and soil with a wife as the true companion of her master both in this world and the next. The age between 16 and 20

is the usual time for marriage and no sexual indulgence before marriage is permitted. A girl once betrothed is not allowed even to show herself to her would-be husband nor to his parents or brothers. The marriage ceremonies are as follow :—

The *Purohit* (1) is asked to choose an auspicious day for fuel-cutting *chhei* (चै) Fuel has to be cut sufficient to prepare all the meals and to warm the house.

The *Purohit* chooses an auspicious day for the *samut* (समुत) ceremony. This ceremony consists of the *Purohit* chanting some verses from scriptures, and throwing some oiled barley with a little budi-tree pericarp (बुडवना) into a small fire². At the same time a red thread is tied to the wrist of the bride and bridegroom and their relatives. The *Purohit* also chooses an appropriate time for the bride and bridegroom to take a bath in the morning and evening of this day. After these baths the women of the neighbourhood sing songs and make merry by rubbing *butana* (बुटना) over each other's faces.³ The bride and bridegroom are both fed well after their baths.

After two or three days the actual marriage ceremony commences. A procession of about twenty men proceeds from the home of the bridegroom to the home of the bride playing musical instruments. There in the girl's house a square canopy (*bedi*⁴) is set up in the courtyard compound by the nearest relatives on the mother's side. These same relatives are also responsible for presenting a red sheet (*lingri*) to the girl and a pair of new shoes to the boy. The bridegroom, after a bath, shave and rubbing of the body with *butana*, dresses himself in the marriage suit, a red cotton cloth long suit (*choga*), pyjamas, a white turban (*safa* साफा) and a belt.

He is then fed on milk, ghee and bread and distributes cash, clothes and other presents among his female relatives as a reward for fanning

1. A *kulka purohit* (कुल का प्रोहित) is a Brahmin by caste entitled to perform all birth, death, marriage and other religious ceremonies of a particular family. Thus different lineages will have different Brahmins.

2. Ceremony called *hawan* (हवन).

3. *Butna* is a preparation of wheat flour, oil and turmeric specially made for rubbing over the bodies of the bride and bridegroom before taking their *samut* bath.

4. The *bedi* (बेदी) is made of wood in the form of a square canopy set up in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house. There are four bars of wood fixed erect in the courtyard. Over each top bar is a parrot of wood. It is beneath this canopy that all the most sacred religious verses are uttered by the *purohit*. This *bedi* is brought over by the nearest relatives on the bridegroom's mother's side.

him. Before this the eldest brother's wife smears his eyelids from within outwards with a semi-solid oily preparation of soot made by burning mustard oil in a lamp *kajalbahana* कजल-बहना. Just before setting out for the bride's house one of the sedan chair carriers fetches a full jar of water to the bridegroom which is thought to be an act of great propitiation. The man is paid a few coins.

Having done all this the boy takes his seat in the chair and leads the procession towards the girl's house. When the procession arrives at the girl's house, they wait outside the courtyard until the *purohīts* of both sides announce the time when the bridegroom is to be admitted. A gate is erected at the entrance and it is here that the bride's *purohit* offers red *tilak* (तिलक) to the bridegroom for which he receives a small present. Then an offering of fruit, red thread, grain, oil, cash and a little grass with a red sheet is made to the bridegroom. The dry materials are divided and a portion tied up in each corner of the red sheet. The oil is kept separately but presented with the rest. The offering is carried inside the house by the father, brother, or uncle of the bridegroom. On reaching the house both *purohīts* take some wetted rice which is kept outside in a dish, and after reciting some sacred hymns, put it on the red sheet. Then this is taken inside the house by the barber's wife or by some female relative of the bride.

The girl's head is oiled and her hair plaited with red thread. The new dress given her by the bridegroom's side consists of (i) a long cotton light dress for summer wear (*lawanachari* लवानचढी), (ii) a petticoat of the same cloth, (*ghagaru* घागरू), (iii) a length of cotton cloth (*kharbas* खड्बास), (iv) a saffron coloured cloth worn by the bride over her forehead (*dhori* धोरी). First the *kharbas* is handed to the bride's mother who puts it on the bride taking care to keep the bride's face covered. Then the feet of the bridegroom are washed by the family barber. Then the bridegroom is led into the yard by the bride's father or by some female relative where he takes his seat on a red cloth placed under the *bedi*. The bridegroom and bride surrounded by their nearest relatives and friends are seated facing each other. The *purohit* then begins to chant. The bride's *purohit* then gives about

(1) *Tilk* is a semi-solid preparation made by rubbing a piece of sandalwood against a slab of stone adding a little water to it. It is then touched with the tip of the finger and the tip of the finger is then touched against the forehead leaving a red dot or other design.

fourteen leaf cups in instalments of three, five and six or seven to the bride's father, reading mantras at every moment of handing over the cups. In the first cups are placed betelnuts, in the second pice, in the third rice. These are then placed in the hands of the bridegroom, hymns being recited all the time. This is called *bahar-ka-lagan* (बाहर का लगन)¹.

After this the bridegroom accompanied by his father and five or six relatives enters his father-in-law's house. At the same time the bride's *purohit* takes water out of a special earthen vessel standing in the yard (*sarayi*) and sprinkles it on the ground. The bridegroom is seated near a small brimful earthen vessel of water with a lamp burning near it. The girl sits to the left of the bridegroom. The *purohit* and the rest of the party also sit close to them. Then the joined hands of the girl are placed in the joined hands of the boy with a little cash or silver or gold in them (*sankli*). Now the names of the ancestors of both parties are repeated (*Gautrachar* गोत्राचार). After this the girl goes into an inner room while the rest of the party receive sweets.

On the same day or the next, a time is fixed by the *purohit* when both the boy and the girl with their friends assemble under the *bedi* once again. Here the nose ring is put on the girl and, both worship the gods (*puja*). When this is over the corner of the bridegroom's clothes (*daupata* दोपटा) is tied to the bride's white sheet-like covering (*chadar* चदर) and, thus fastened, the bridegroom followed by the bride goes four times round the inner side of the *bedi*. After this the girl's relatives offer gifts to her parents, according to their means—utensils, cash, wool, sheep, goats, cows and so on. A cow to milk, a spinning wheel (*charkha* चरखा) vessels and bedding are given to her by her father. All these gifts are collectively termed *saj* (साज). About 1/11th of this dowry goes to her *purohit*. When the dowry has been given, the bride and bridegroom dine together inside the bride's house, while the rest of the men are fed outside in the courtyard. But until the bride and bridegroom depart from the girl's house, no near male relative of the girl (such as her father or uncle's son) both on the maternal and paternal lines should take their meals. The marriage

(1) The first ceremony in which the bride and bridegroom meet in the house of the girl's parents attended by the *purohit* and the nearest relative of both marriage parties is termed a *lagan* and if the auspicious time for this meeting is during the daylight towards twilight, it is called *bahar-ka-lagan*.

procession now goes back to the boy's house with the bride in a sedan chair given her by her father and the bridegroom in a separate chair.

On arrival at the house, the bridegroom's mother happily welcomes the pair with a lighted lamp in a platter and some oiled breads, which she waves over their heads. She breaks the oiled breads and throws away the pieces taking back the oil and platter. Then the pair enters the house. The rest of the party sing, dance and talk together in the courtyard, afterwards dining together. The feast is served by the bridegroom's people. One of the main constituents of the meal is *sar* (सुर), a liquor from maize. It is made by the fermentation of millet with the addition of a wild herb called *bhullasi*. It has a mild alcoholic content. Quantities of herbs are also eaten.

On the following day a feast is given (*dham* धाम). At this feast the near relatives of the bridegroom present him with some money which is recorded on a paper (*tambol* तम्बोल). After the feast, or a day or two afterwards the bride is sent back to her father's house. On her return she is accompanied by the near female relatives who had originally come from her father's house. This completes the marriage ceremony.

There are two features of the marriage ceremony which are often performed in this manner.

A. *Lagan*. The bridegroom's procession has arrived. The bride is being dressed. She is carried by some near male relative to the *bedi*. He sits down with her. The bridegroom takes his seat to the left of the bride. The folded hands of the bride are placed between the folded hands of the bridegroom. A rupee is given by the bridegroom's father to the *purohit* who chants from the scriptures. Then the same male relative of the bride carries her back inside the house while the bridegroom is kept waiting outside for the arrival of the mother-in-law who comes out of the house with a burning lamp made of wheat flour with five or six wicks in it. She worships him by moving the burning lamp before her son-in-law. Then she takes him inside the house and offers him a seat by her daughter. He is then fed with syrup (*gur*) and butter (*ghee*). Then a partition is made between the bride and bridegroom and the women begin to plait the hair of the bride. When this is over both bride and bridegroom are called to take milk and rice. The girl is dressed in her cotton cloak (*lawanachari*) petticoat (*ghagaru*), and a red coloured cotton cloth bought by the

bride's mother (*lingri*), and her ornaments, Only the nose ring is omitted from her dress. Then the waist band of the bridegroom is tied to the bride's cloak and they are escorted by two special relatives (*punchaink पंचैक*) to the *bedi*. They sit down and the rest of the party and the Brahmin priest also take their seat round about the *bedi*. The Brahman then reads his scriptures and ignites a *hawan* (1). Barley, ghee, raisins, dates, coconuts, almonds or walnuts are thrown on to the fire.

Then comes the bride's brother with a sieve full of parched rice. He makes small heaps of this rice in a sieve which the bridegroom scatters. Thrice the heaps are formed and thrice destroyed. Some corn is put in the sieve and given to the bride's brother (*roli khehna रौली खेहना*)

B. Then comes the ceremony of *lai pherna* (लार्है फेरना). The bride goes four times around the *bedi* with the bridegroom following her with his hands placed on her back. Their seats are then changed on the *bedi*. The nose ring is put through the left nostril of the bride by a female relative (who is never a widow) just before this ceremony. At the departure the bridegroom's party try to upset the wooden *bedi* and carry away the wooden parrots while the bride's father tries to prevent their doing so. There are other forms of marriage such as temple marriage (*ghangrara जंगराडा*) where the parties belong to different castes or sects, but there again the main thing is the putting on of the nose ring and the plaiting of the hair of the bride.

The parents and the *purohit* are authorized to arrange marriages. First there is a betrothal ceremony when some trustworthy people are sent from the bridegroom's to the bride's house. They arrange a propitious day for the marriage. Next the *purohit* with two or four bridegroom's men goes to the girl's house taking some cane syrup, grain, betel-nut and some cash. This they hand over to the girl's guardian or her parents. Then the same offering is struck by the *purohit* with a grinding stone signifying that the marriage contract has been acknowledged. Gifts are also given by the boy's father in charity. The final decision rests with the bride's parents.

Death and burial :—All dead bodies are cremated. The direction of the head of the deceased is always northward. Lepers are not burnt but buried, as also are those who die very young. They are wrapped in common salt.

(1) *Hawan*. See page 1 note (2).

The ceremony is as follows :—First, a sufficient amount of dried wood is piled up. Then the corpse is washed and encased in a sack, sewn tightly around the neck and arms. Over this all a shroud (*kafan* कफन) is wrapped. While the *purohit* recites some chants, the body is placed on the pyre.

When the body is removed from the death bed and placed on the ground, a one rupee coin and a small quantity of ghee and pieces of sandalwood (*panchrati* पंचरती) are placed in the mouth of the dead. The corpse is carried on the shoulders of the nearest relatives, generally four in number. Those who are nearest and younger than the deceased bare their heads as a mark of respect. Music and the playing of the death knell (*sankhkhanta* संख खंटा) continue until the body reaches the crematorium (*marghat* मरगट). The body is placed on the wood pyre and when everything is ready the son of the deceased, followed by the near relatives, make a complete circle round the pyre bearing lighted torches. Where he started the son sets the pyre alight with his torch the rest copying him. The relatives lament while following the corpse to its place. When the body is half consumed and the small bones split up, all wash their hands and feet and throw into the fire small pieces of sandalwood and fuel. With the exception of any three men (other than sons) near to the deceased all return to their homes. These three men (*sangharu* संघारु) sit watching the entire body burn to ashes. It is the duty of these men to collect the ashes of the deceased with the seven bones of the finger, knee and ankle-joints. This is all packed up in a little piece of cloth taken from the shroud of the deceased. At home they then sprinkle some Ganges' water, cows' milk, butter, curds, cow dung and cow's urine over the packet. Then it is put into an earthen vessel closed at the top and placed in the recess in the wall of the house. Each night and morning a lamp is lit for a short while by the side of it. This is continued until a sufficient amount of money has been collected to take it to Hardwar in Uttar Pradesh.

Before and during the process of cremation a ball of barley is taken by the *purohit* and is brought into contact with the head of the deceased whenever the body is placed on the ground for a rest. Also before the actual cremation a kind of barley is brought into contact with the head of the deceased by the *purohit* and thrown into a stream in the neighbourhood. During the 11 days following death, relatives and friends come to sympathise with the bereaved. Suitable days are

Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and the eleventh day itself. On the eleventh day the deceased's clothes are washed and a goat is killed. Both the clothes and the goat are given to the *purohit* for his own use. During these ten days the women of the house also get up early and weep together for a few minutes each morning (*mukh dena* मुख देना).

After three months the *purohit* and relatives are summoned to a feast (*timai* तिमाही), after six months (*chhamahini* छैमाहिनी), after one year *barah* (बरह, बरसी), after four years *chawbarshi* (चौबरी). In these ceremonies valuable gifts and a feast are given to relatives. Every year at the time prescribed by the *purohit*, a ceremony (*saradh* सराध) is performed in which oiled cakes, vegetable dishes, fruits and other food are offered to the *kulka purohit* in the name of one's ancestors. It is repeated yearly for three generations.

Gangyatra (गंगायात्रा):—When a sufficient amount of money has been collected the nearest relative fixes a day for the journey to Hardawar, in consultation with the *purohit*. On the day of departure the packet of ashes is taken from its hidden place in the wall of the house, washed in *punjgali*, worshipped and then hung round the neck in a purse. The pilgrim who is to undertake the journey (*gangyatri* गंगायात्री) must continue to wear this purse continually, is not allowed to sleep on a bed, nor to eat more than once a day until he returns home. When he has returned home he performs a ceremony (*gangoj* गंगोज or *chhidar* छिदर), in which young girls and Brahmin boys are worshipped and paid in small coins. At Hardawar he throws the sacred bones into the Ganges and bathes in the river water. He gives pinds to his dead ancestors as well as to all those family members and nearest relatives who might have died at any time in the past. This ceremony is attended by a local Brahmin at Hardawar. The hair of the head and the moustaches along with the nails are all cut and thrown into the Ganges. On return to his home the pilgrim brings some Ganges* water which he puts into the Mani Mahesh Lake. This lake is about three days journey up the valley from Brahamaaur. Every September there are special pilgrimages there.

Religion:—The Gaddis are Hindus. They regard Shiva as their most important god. Whenever a marriage appears unpropitious, it is in the Shiva temple that it can be celebrated and performed. Next in importance to Shiva is Kalang, a vizir of Shiva. Then there are the *nags*, *devis* and *devotas*, such as Bharmain of Bharmour, Lakhma, Sitka, Kali, Chaunda and Marali. Animal sacrifice is

widespread. To please Kalang, male sheep, he-goats, barley and cane sugar is sacrificed. The headmen of Kugti, 18 miles from Bharmour (*sassi ससी*) are authorized to receive offerings to Kalang at a temple of the same name.

There is also an offering to *nags* consisting of honey, male kids or a lamb, the first ears of any crops in the fields and small breads (*ahri अहरी*). To *devi* is presented vermilion (*sindur सिंदूर*), a head ornament ¹ (*bindli बिंदली*), a red piece of cotton cloth (*salu सालू*), a saffron coloured cloth (*dori*), a goat and fermented liquor (*sur*). The presence of a trident of iron or its exact figure cut into a small flat piece of stone is the sign that the shrine is devoted to some *nag* or *devi*. An image of stone placed at a streamlet or spring or cut into a silver leaf or hung around the neck is termed an *autr* (*औत्र*). Women worship *devi* to avert impending misfortune and also in order to encourage childbirth. To protect their cattle from an epidemic *nags* are worshipped.

There is hardly any ceremony at which Brahmins or *purohits* are not called for. They revere the cow, the banyan tree, the implement for cutting crops and trees (*darai दराई*), snakes and grain thrown carelessly on the ground. The stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata are commonly sung in marriages and other festive gatherings. It is a custom to worship one's ancestors whenever any new or old article of diet is used for the first time in a year. The sun and moon are worshipped after taking a bath and also during eclipses. Pilgrimages are undertaken to Mani Mahesh lake, Bhagaunath, Dalmantir in Dharamsala, Jawalaji, Bhaor in Kangra and Shivji in Manikaram.

Magic and witchcraft:—Other peoples believe the Gaddis can work witchcraft. The human intermediary of a *deota* (*chela चेला*) can chant in such a fashion that a jar held firmly in the hand begins to move around. This moving force is initiated by throwing grains of *dal* over the jar while the chants are being recited. This rotating jar forces the holder in the direction of the witch or her representative.

(1) A *bindli* is an oval-shaped piece of lead from a quarter to one inch in circumference. On one side it is painted and on the other side it is smooth. It is gummed against a women's forehead with the decorated side outwards. It is also put on all goddesses' foreheads.

(2) An *autr* is a crudely made image inscribed on a stone or leaf and placed in the fields or hung around the neck. It is a means of worshipping the spirit of a person who dies without children. Its worshipper is shielded from many dangers by the *autr's* kindness.

By this device also things buried under the ground are discovered. (*khori खोरी*). Spirits and demons often answer questions. Mediums recite chants over a person throwing him or her into a frenzy when they will answer questions. This practice is not confined to any special caste. Exorcising is also done by mediums when goats, sheep, sweets, fruits and so on are offered and flourished over the heads of the afflicted. Worship (*pūja*) is done and pieces of flesh are scattered wherever two or four roads meet. The remainder of the *pūja* articles are given to the exorcist.

Superstitions and omens :—All well-to-do Bharmouries believe in the idea of consulting some *purohit* whenever commencing new work or in undertaking a journey, fixing lucky days for the construction of a house or to perform the opening ceremony of a new building. It is an evil omen if a crow or jackal calls out on the left side when leaving a place. Comets are considered as presaging some calamity. It is unlucky not to have seen the pole star (*dharub धरुब तारा*) for months together.

Animal flesh is widely eaten. Cloven footed animals such as sheep, goats, wild pigs, wild goat and deer are allowed to be killed. With the exception of a few Brahmins wine is drunk. Men and women dine together but in a separate place. It is not permitted to eat the cow, deer, domestic pig, fowls and pea fowls. The husband's elder brother and his uncle do not touch the wife. The father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband's elder brother, are never named by the wife, whether alive or dead. It is a fashion not to speak of an important man by his name but by the term *bajia*, master.

Cow, child, Brahmin, ancestor, temple, some place occupied by a god or spirit are the main themes of oaths. If an oath is broken it is supposed to result in some calamity such as the death of a son.

Pregnancy and birth :—During pregnancy a woman does light work although instances indicate that many women had given birth while walking in the jungle with the sheep and goats. When delivery takes place in a house a midwife is called for. The pregnant woman is asked to support her body weight by placing the palms of her hands on the ground behind her back, while both legs are stretched out so that the entire body weight is on the heels and buttocks. When she has given birth to the child, the father of the child, according to his means distributes some money while the female relatives take some sweets and distribute them among the neighbours. The father and other family members stop working for a day or so.

Adoption:—When despite one's best efforts no child is born and both husband and wife are growing old, they are then permitted to adopt any male or female child from among their relatives as their rightful heir. This is done simply by taking the baby into one's lap in the presence of some two or three relatives (*dharmputr* धर्मपुत्र).

Purification:—Is needed after death, delivery and menstruation. The impurity in the case of funeral duties lasts for ten days, for child birth five to seven days, and for menstruation three days. For death purification one washes one's clothes, drinks Ganges' water, body rubbed with cow's urine and a he-goat is eaten provided by the deceased's brotherhood (*gotra*). For childbirth, both mother and father taste cow's urine, in which, money given to the midwife is placed. Ganges water is drunk and sprinkled over the body. After menstruation bathing and washing after three days is sufficient.

Government:—The main caste divisions of the Bharmories are Brahmins, Khattris, Rajputs, Thakurs and Rathis. As they do not keep a genealogical tree, they do not recognise a common ancestor. In the political sphere they are organised into *punjchiats*, which are fairly representative assemblies. Whenever a dispute arises some leaders are chosen who sit and discuss the matter under dispute. Such assemblies are authorised to disregard caste and private interests in making a judgement. The head of such an assembly is termed a *panch* or *mokadam*. When the matter has been settled the case is forwarded to the state officials (*char* or *likhniara* लिख निवार) for disposal.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard., Cohen and West Ltd. London, 1951.

Price 8s 6d net. Pp. vii & 134.

PROFESSOR Evans-Pritchard of Oxford delivered a series of lectures from the B. B. C. on Social Anthropology. These have now been brought together in the form of the present booklet.

After a wide survey of past trends in Social Anthropology, the Lecturer has shown how it has now developed into its present shape. He is clearly and firmly of the opinion that it is wrong to seek the exactitude of the Physical Sciences in a branch of knowledge where we have to deal with living, and very much variable subject like man. The purpose of Social Anthropology can never be the search of Sociological laws, for they do not exist. The so-called laws are often an abstraction, which we create out of our own imagination.

Anthropology, is, in some respects, more an art than a science in the accepted sense of the term. And in the pursuit of the knowledge of primitive tribes, modern Anthropology has developed a new technique of investigation which he has carefully tried to describe.

From the theoretical point of view, Professor Evans-Pritchard has more or less, identified himself with the Functional School; although he has shown a slight departure in the fact that he has found in historical conditions a source of the development of present attitudes and relationships. History thus becomes, not merely the study of dead matter, but also a key to the present. The ultimate purpose of Social Anthropology, according to the Lecturer, is to 'help us to understand better, and in whatever place or time we meet him, that wondrous creature man'.

The lectures are informative, lucid and provocative of thought. We are of the opinion that they will form a very suitable introduction to students who are interested in the science of man.

N. K. B.

CASTE, CLASS & RACE.

*By Oliver Cromwell Cox (Doubleday & Company, Garden City)
New York, (Price — 7-50)*

This book, as the title suggests, is divisible into three parts ; The first dealing with caste system is based entirely on published materials on the Hindus in India. The author has not had the advantage of visiting India nor had he the privilege of consulting original texts or even some of the best books on the subject. His analysis of caste under such circumstances, though more or less comprehensive, is bound to appear superficial and somewhat unsympathetic.

The second part on Class gives a clear picture of modern social structure and demonstrates the reason for the present-day political friction based on class struggle.

In these days of racial antagonism, such as it exists in South Africa and U. S. A., the chapters on race will be read with interest. Race prejudices, intolerance, nationalism, which often becomes militant and various problems arising out of these factors have been carefully analysed with special reference to the situation in America. The author has also brought out the interrelationship between caste, class and race in so far as they affect modern race-relations and present-day antagonisms in the social and political spheres. The reviewer does not however agree with every conclusion drawn by the author, nor do we suppose, this is expected. He has aimed towards clarity even at the risk of being dogmatic at times. In any case, the book can be recommended as a study of social dynamics of the present world. Those who are interested in problems of race, caste and class relations will do well to refer to this refreshing and interesting book.

T. C. Roy

A HUNDRED YEARS OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

By Glen E. Daniel, M. A., Ph.D., F. S. A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and University Lecturer in Archaeology, London.

Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd, 3, Henrietta Street, London

W. C. 2, 1950. Price 21 shillings net. Pp. 344.

The author has presented in this volume a comprehensive account of the development of Archaeology from the position of a mere romantic pursuit of old treasures to that of a well-defined branch of

human knowledge, whose purpose is the reconstruction of the story of man's life in its earlier stages.

He has described in some detail the special contributions of Thomsen, Worsaae and Nilsson, and shown how the essential elements of the correct archaeological approach were foreshadowed in the writings of these workers of the North. This is followed by the fascinating account of increasing perfection in technique brought about through the labours of men like Boucher de Perthes, Mariette, Schliemann, Pitt Rivers or Flinders Petrie. The archaeologist's spade then began to yield richer and richer harvests in France, Spain and England, as well as in various parts of North Africa, Central Asia and the Middle East; and the accumulation of new facts proceeded so fast, and they were of such a varied character, that many of the earlier historical generalizations began to lose their certainty, and even became confused or meaningless in course of time. It began to be realized that the archaeologist could not remain satisfied with the collection of tangible remains of man's past activities, but he had to reconstruct, on the basis of such collections, the full story of the development of man's philosophical and artistic thoughts and of his social institutions, in so far as these were possible. It was also felt that justice could not be done to even the material or economic counterpart of human life without a due reference to contemporary geographical conditions.

The author has not only succeeded in presenting a large mass of information relating to the growth of Archaeology, but he has been able, at the same time, to trace the inner growth of ideas in this branch of human knowledge and show how this was partly the results of a parallel development of ideas in such sciences as biology or sociology. He has been able to clear some of the current misconceptions regarding the early stages of the subject. Thus, the statement of Goldenweiser to the effect that the original growth of the evolutionary scheme in Prehistory was the result of Darwin's influence has been disproved by him as successfully as the rather over-enthusiastic opinion of Engels to the effect that Morgan was the first thinker who brought definite order into human history.

There is just one point to which the reviewer feels called upon to draw the attention of the author or the reader in respect of what has appeared to him to be a case of slight injustice. This is with reference to the contribution of the Historical School of American ar-

thropologists, whose names have just been referred to on page 242 of the book.

Although an account has been given at the end of the ninth chapter as to how distribution maps of culture traits in relation to those of soils and of vegetation in the past, have thrown a new light on prehistory, yet this is not the only way in which geography can come to the aid of the archaeologist. Kroeber and several other anthropologists in America, have shown how differential distribution, continuity and discontinuity of, or the degree and nature of cultural differentiation can be judiciously utilized for the purpose of arranging traits in accordance with their relative antiquity, where other means are lacking. In other words, they have tried to perfect a method of converting Area or Space into Time as a supplementary aid to the archaeologist's spade. Although this method has not been adequately applied elsewhere, or been subjected to testing for validity by reference to scales of relative antiquity built up otherwise, yet the potentialities of the work of the Historical School of America should perhaps have deserved some more adequate consideration.

This reflection should not, however, lead one to underestimate the unquestioned merit of the book under review. In India, where Archaeology may yet be said to be in its infant stage, the inclusion of a book of this kind for study by students of Prehistory or even of Historical Archaeology, will undoubtedly prove helpful. It will dispel many of the current biases and, by creating a genuine love for field investigation and the right kind of scientific technique, it is likely to prepare the way for advance in a branch of study for which India and Pakistan present one of the most abundant sources of raw materials as well as of problems in relation to Archaeology.

N. K. B.

THE PREHISTORIC CHAMBER TOMBS OF ENGLAND & WALES.

By Glyn E Daniel, Cambridge University Press, London Price 31/6 net.
Pp. 1-256. Illustrated with 16 plates and 33 text figures,
including maps.

The book under review is divided into two parts: Part one, which forms the bulk of the volume, embodies descriptive text, consisting of 7 chapters dealing with the distribution, construction, morphology, ritual and symbolism, archaeological finds and origins and

dating of the chamber tombs. The second part of the volume consists of an inventory of the burial chambers and is divided into 8 sections.

Prehistoric megalithic tombs have always aroused popular curiosity and wonder, and have become national antiquities in many a country, being protected by the State. In India, we are also familiar with the ancient megalithic tombs and monuments especially in Peninsular India. The Dept. of Archaeology here has undertaken a survey and exploration of megalithic sites in this country.

The present volume under review is a very useful general survey of chamber tombs in England and Wales, with special reference to their morphology and origins. The author has rightly referred to the confusions in megalithic terminology. The confusions still exist in the reviewer's mind. That the term 'megalithic' is undoubtedly a misnomer since there are structures where large stones are not employed. Yet we are using the term in default of a happier alternative. Likewise the word 'dolmen' is widely used. Mr. Daniel has however employed the terms A-dolmen and B-dolmen to denote single rectangular and polygonal chambers respectively.

It must be, however, admitted that we are still far from reaching a satisfactory solution of the problem of a scientific and rational basis for the classification of megalithic tombs. The author of the book under review has used the term chamber tombs (the title of the book) to denote both chamber and any associated structure such as barrows. On the basis of their modes of construction, two main varieties of the burial chamber have been distinguished: one in which the chamber is built in the ground and the other in which it is built up on the ground surface. The author has also distinguished a third group which he calls the sub-megalithic type of chamber tombs characterised by makeshift devices saving labour in building a normal surface chamber. Here again the reader is liable to be confused.

According to the author, there are two morphological series (the passage grave and gallery grave), and 8 main types (within the two series) are recognised in his morphological classification. By detailed morphological analysis, 5 main groups have been made out, such as the Anglesey, Scilly, Severn-Cotswold, Irish Sea and Medway groups.

Geographically, the burial chamber sites fall into 5 groups: 3 main groups comprising North Wales, South Wales and SE Midland and the SW English groups, and 2 smaller distinct groups—one on the moors south of the Peak district and the other in the Medway valley

of Kent. Certain interesting features come out from the distribution map of the chamber tombs: Firstly, the distribution pattern is discreet, consisting of a number of small isolated groups; secondly, there are conspicuous blank spaces in the map and thirdly, the paucity and low density of burial chambers in the country. The majority of South British burial chambers are situated within 20 miles of the coast and near to supplies of stone. Mr. Daniel concludes that the megalithic cultures of Britain are clearly sea-borne and that the coastal concentrations represent in part the primary areas in colonisation by the chamber builders.

The author has not concerned himself with the ultimate origin of the megalithic tombs. After discussing the immediate origins of the 5 morphological groups, he concludes that they are derived from Boyne, Breton, Clyde-Carlinford, West French and Scandinavian megaliths respectively. Referring to probable dating based on typological sequences, on the parent cultures in Ireland and elsewhere and on associational evidence (portable antiquities), the author concludes that the South British burial chambers were first established in Period I-II (of Gordon Childe) and went on being used and built into Period IV and perhaps even later.

Unfortunately, only a little about the economy and settlement of the chamber builders is known. But from the direct associational evidence, such as of weapons and tools, a few agricultural implements, pottery, bones of domesticated animals, we know that they lived in small villages, raised livestock, practised farming and manufactured pottery and implements. In addition to these, they perhaps knew boatbuilding, weaving, carpentry and perhaps later had a knowledge of metallurgy.

The book, although a little bit sketchy here and there, is on the whole instructive and informative. The printing and get-up both are praiseworthy.

D. Sen.

ALPONA:—RITUAL DECORATIONS IN BENGAL

By Tapan Mohan Chatterji with notes by Tarak Chandra Das—Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Pp. 62—Price Rs. 3/-.

Though art and religion are by no means inseparable they have a strong affinity. In essence religion is subjective—a matter of the belief. Yet the covert concepts of religious belief are always

translated to avert ritual and ceremonial forms. Religion needs objectifying, and art is one medium of outstanding effectiveness.

The art of Alpona, 'essentially a feminine art' is the decorative embodiment of the woman's desires, imaginations and fancies associated with Vratas, the religious or semi-religious festival of the women of India. "The art of Alpona" says the author of this book under review, "is inspired by popular religious festival and indeed it is the essential part of them". The author remarks elsewhere, "We are inclined to think that it is the artistic feeling which torments the human art until it has found its means of expression, although there is always the religious feeling working in the back-ground". This art is practised all over India, in some form or the other and a comparative study of the art so practised would have enriched the study.

A description of Sejuti-Vrata and the songs connected with it will show how the desires and aspirations of women of Bengal are expressed (Pages 23-25).

Addressing a little child the maiden sings :

"Oh my little boy, you are back so late !

You dropped your umbrella on the road

Come here and sit on the couch

I will wipe the dust of your feet

I will give you a golden ball.

The song expresses the desire for future home, queen of a peaceful, prosperous house and queen mother of a happy family.

The book presents to the English reading public a real and a short account of one of the traditional arts of Bengal, the decorations of floors, walls and door-steps with gay patterns by the girls of household at times of festivals.

The author travelled through many out-of-the-way villages of Bengal to collect the specimens of Alpona and had the opportunity of studying the subject at Santiniketan where it is taught.

The book contains beautiful illustrations which are mostly taken from the collection of Abanindranath Tagore. The notes by Tarak Chandra Das, a Lecturer in Anthropology in the University of Calcutta have added to the interest of the book. These notes are short, clear and explain the significance of the motifs and emblems which form the substance of this ritualistic art.

The authors are to be congratulated for providing such a handbook that will help the readers to understand this art and the motive

behind it. Indeed, to understand the mind of the people of a country, a study of its folk-lore, festivals and arts connected therewith cannot be over-emphasised, and a book which provides materials so attractively is welcome. The get up of the book is excellent and is in tune with the theme.

L. K. R.

HINDU HOLY BOOKS, CHANDI & GITA

By Bhuban Mohan Banerji, M.A., Ph. D., LL. D., F.S.Sc. (London)
Late Professor & C. U. Examiner, Sr. Interpreter & Translator,
Calcutta High Court (Retd.), Published by Haripada Banerji,
63, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta 6, Price Rs. 2/8-.

That the two books, The Chandi and the Gita are dear to the Hindus needs no mention. The Gita has been translated in prose and verse in English and other languages of the World. The Chandi is known to all the followers of Sakti-cult but its rendering in English verse is seldom attempted.

The Gita is the highest philosophy of life. The spirit of non-attachment, of duty without hope of reward is of great value to the modern materialistic outlook of the world. The underlying philosophy of the Chandi is how to attain divine life and vision through Divine Grace by conquering the obstacles, the desires of senses and other worldly attachments that lead to and bind our lives with woes, strifes and miseries.

The author's presentation is illuminating, the style is clear and simple and the rhyming is wonderful. Those who are lovers of poetry and philosophy will greatly appreciate the value of this book. The readers who can devote their spare times in a study of this neat little volume will learn with pleasure and profit the essence of the Hindu philosophy and religion expounded in these two books.

L. K. R.

AFRICAN SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde. Published for the
International African Institute by the Oxford University Press,
London, New York, Toronto, 1950, pp. 400, price 35 s. net.

This is a publication sponsored by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, at whose invitation the International African Institute submitted a memorandum setting forth parti-

culars of a number of research projects which the Institute was prepared to undertake in collaboration with the UNESCO. One of the projects related to the publication of a volume devoted to studies of kinship, and marriage in a number of representative African societies. In this volume, a number of distinguished British and South African anthropologists have collaborated under the editorship of Professors Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll-Forde, and is probably the fore-runner of a number of volumes to follow. At the outset therefore, we need to congratulate the Executive Board of UNESCO and the International African Institute for making such important material available to anthropology.

The book presents ten essays on kinship and marriage. The introduction is contributed by Prof. Radcliffe Brown and other contributions are by Hilda Kuper, Monica Wilson, I. Schapera, Max Gluckman, A. I. Richards, M. Fortes, Daryll-Forde, S. F. Nadel and E. E. Evans Pritchard. Radcliffe-Brown covers the whole range of the subject and gives an illuminating discussion on the theory and practice of anthropology in the context of kinship studies. Particular interest attaches to the discussion of the principles of segmentation and stratification in primitive political organisation, other aspects treated include a comparative study of marriage customs, early English marriage, modern English and American concepts of marriage, and African marriage and modifications of kinship relations by marriage. He deals also with various customs incidental to the study of the institution of kinship, exogamy, incest, avoidance and the social functions of kinship systems. Hilda Kuper writes on kinship among the Swazi, Monica Wilson, on Nyakyusa kinship, I. Schapera on Tswana kinship, Gluckman on Lozi and Zulu kinship. Bantu family structure is the subject of Dr. Richard's illuminating kinship survey, Ashanti Kinship of M. Fortes, Descent among the Ashanti is studied by Daryll-Forde, and of the Nuba hills, by S. F. Nadel, and of Nuer kinship by Evans-Pritchard. The volume has maintained a high standard and every paper in it is an expert study which should inspire Indian anthropologists to use the methodology indicated and high objectivity maintained throughout. In a book of 400 pages, 85 pages cover the introduction. It would probably have been better if this was distributed into a short introduction and a discussion on theory in the context of kinship and organisational studies, but one merit of the introduction is that the reader never loses interest, as the material has been presented in a charming manner and with expert knowledge; the

authors of the various chapters all have the competence to write in their special fields of interest. Wilson and Nadel's account of political organisation, Forde and Murdock's discussion on the relation between wealth and prestige are noteworthy contributions. No one can ignore the very important role Prof. Radcliffe-Brown has played and is doing so, in shaping modern anthropology. His name along with that of the late Prof. B. Malinowski are names to conjure with and allay fears, whenever field anthropologists are faced with a divorce between dogma and practice. Functionalism has saved anthropology from being cornered into an antiquarian's attic. To Durkheim we owe the freeing of sociology from psychology, and Radcliffe Brown, who has been much influenced by Durkheim may be able to reorient anthropological field approach and free anthropology from the yoke of individual & social psychology. The book as presented to us, satisfies this need and we welcome the publication for its professional excellence and topical interest. Radcliffe-Brown has founded and revitalised teaching and research in social anthropology, and one need, only to read his masterly treatment of an abstract subject as kinship and social structures to be convinced of his wide interests and his wide *mana* over British anthropology. Most of the writers are either pupils of Radcliffe-Brown or his admirers, and there is a happy team spirit he has organised, which may serve as object lesson for other countries. We agree with his view expressed in an article in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute on Social Structure* (LXX, I, 1940, p. 1), that 'there is no place for orthodoxies and heterodoxies, in science' and Radcliffe-Brown's status *vis a vis* functional anthropology is a clear demonstration of this statement. One may not agree with the view now being canvassed for, to regard social anthropology as a distinct discipline, but as the most outstanding social anthropologist of the British School, Radcliffe Brown's views claim a status never conceded before.

D. N. M.

BONDO HIGHLANDER

By Verrier Elwin, Oxford University Press, (XIX+272),
price Rs. 30/-

Verrier Elwin, formerly, Rev. Father Elwin, does not need any introduction. In the words of the Times Literary Supplement, which the Publishers have quoted, he is 'a poet, and a translator, a social worker, explorer and ethnologist; he is a man of great culture and originality of thought and an admirable and very entertaining

writer.' We endorse all that. Anthropology is Elwin's latest hobby, but he seems to have taken it seriously, and has proved his competence in no uncertain way. Yet our difficulty comes when we want to estimate his role as an anthropologist, for seldom if ever, all the qualities that have been mentioned above, are present in a specialist, and that is why Elwin has created a halo round his name. We have often failed to assess the scientific value of his otherwise admirable monographs, not because they are not delightfully presented, obviously they are, and they command a large sale as well, but because of the absence of a theoretical training, a background of anthropological knowledge, of theory and practice. His sentimentalism, which he himself admits to be a strong point in him appears to have compromised with science, and the reader is often left to guess how far his vivid pictures of tribal life are real and how far they are tinged by his imagination, and flare for description. Opinions must differ, but professional opinion in India, runs counter to that which creates a demand for his well produced and entertaining books. Fortunately for Elwin, academic anthropologists can be counted on fingers' ends, and therefore Elwin is a force, to reckon with. Elwin himself has assumed the role of a mentor in anthropology, and his unprovoked attack on anthropologists (the latest was in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Nov. 25, 1951) at the Universities, has assumed the status of a crusade as it were, and popular articles written by him, always contain flings at anthropologists which are not deserved and show even bad taste. This is another *Ma-Bap* attitude that Indian anthropology has to encounter, and it is hoped, that it is a mere passing phase, for most Universities have taken up the study of anthropology seriously, and already Indian anthropologists have secured a status for meticulous and scientific contribution to anthropological literature.

Few anthropologists have been so fortunate as Verrier Elwin. The late Roy Bahadur S. C. Roy found difficulty in publishing his books, because they were prohibitive as to cost. His books were printed indifferently at Ranchi. His books, however, remain as source books of social origins, and yet they need be discovered by ethnologists outside. Elwin has no such handicap. The Tatas and the Sarabhais find money for his books, his researches are paid for by the Warden and Fellows of the Merton College, Oxford, by the Government of India, for the five years he was working as the Deputy Director of Anthropology Department, and by the various State Governments

who subsidise his work or his welfare activities. He has created a class of readers who eagerly await his books, and they sell. All handicaps that stifle anthropological research and create frustration among anthropologists are inoperative in his case.

In this book Elwin has been candid enough to describe his methods of field research and it is necessary that they should be widely known. Field anthropology in India is young and the pitfalls many. An informed approach to field study is a long felt desideratum.

We were waiting for a monograph on the Bondos by C. von Furer-Haimendorf, who opened up the Bondos, and had already contributed a number of papers on the tribe; his book, we are told, is nearly complete and he is coming in 1953 to revise his manuscript. Professional etiquette should have restrained Elwin to write a book on a tribe, which in Elwin's words—Furer-Haimendorf had so clearly staked out as his own.' But Elwin does not need to wait to write a monograph; he thinks, with modern field methods, 'any ethnographer can collect sufficient information about almost any tribe to fill a small encyclopaedia of a thousand pages' and he does not even require to know the language or the dialect of the people. Elwin informs us that he has planned five monographs on Orissa tribes and all to be written within a year or so, for his association with the Orissa Government as Tribal Adviser is for a limited period. This raises a problem, rather a crisis in Indian anthropological research. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy took at least ten years of intensive field work for one tribe, and others have worked for years before they could see their efforts in print, but Elwin has no such inhibitions. He finds his co-workers and even guests, all first-rate, all, as last words in sympathy, understanding and intelligence. Mr. Blackburn is 'large in heart as in body, has spent a quarter of a century among the aboriginals of Bastar and Orissa. There has never been a more generous employer of aboriginal labour or a more understanding friend of the Muria and Kond, Gond, Baiga and Pradhan.' 'Harry Milham had seen the Konds but this was his first real experience of aboriginal India.' 'It is interesting to see,' writes Elwin, 'how quickly he became *en rapport* with the people even though he was unable to converse with them.' They felt instinctively that he respected and liked them for this respect, so woefully absent in the attitude of most of their fellow-countrymen, is the real secret of success with the aboriginal'. One notices with expansive heart, how the *spirit medium* through which Milham

became intimate with Miliya Bodnaik, 'one of the most charming people in the tribe', 'a notorious double murderer', 'who though apt when drunk, to get a little fresh'. Elwin's assistant, Sunderlal Narbada Prasad, 'spent two months in the Bondo Country', and Elwin writes about him, 'his knowledge of the Bondos is profound'. Miss Roma Chowdhry who assisted Elwin was in Elwin's phraseology, 'the most educated woman, east of Suez.' Shamrao Hivale, had a number of devoted admirers who, he claims 'did not hesitate to tell him all'. His book on the Pradhans, wrote Elwin sometime back, was 'the best monograph on an Indian tribe, written by an Indian'. Elwin writes, 'whatever else the Bondos may think about me, I am sure they regard me as a person who knows how to pick his friends.' Continues our author, 'I particularly value his (Shamrao Hivale's) support and confirmation of views, on the sexual discretion of the Bondos'. We had all along been under the impression that the sexual life of the Baigas and of other tribes, particularly what he had written on the 'Ghotul', was factual, and documented, but now we are told, that these are his views. We welcome this confession.

We were a little intrigued at the discussion on the language of the Bondos, which opens the chapters that follow. Furer-Haimendorf is probably one of the not many scientifically minded foreign anthropologists that we have had in India and he never claimed what he did not own, at least he had never claimed any originality for reporting on tribal words. Elwin does not know the language of the tribes he speaks of, yet a blind man takes delight in leading another not so blind. When both are handicapped in regard to language, it is idle to pronounce a verdict on such linguistic foibles. Elwin does not know that many Sanskrit words have entered into tribal dialects and there is neither a standard pronunciation which can be reported and accepted. *Mahaprabhu* is also *Mahapruhu*, as *Bhagwan* is *Bhagvan* or simply *Bhagaman*. It is only those with linguistic training, and well grounded in phonetics, who can speak authoritatively on the propriety or otherwise of a particular pronunciation. The same word is pronounced differently by different sections of the same tribe, as the classical example given by J. H. Hutton would show. The latter refers to the speed with which the Nagas change language, and how the latter splits into dialects not even mutually intelligible. (The Sema Nagas, p. 266) Seven Semas, for example, happened to meet by the roadside, one evening each coming from a different village. They asked one another what they had with them to eat with rice. Each mentioned a new thing,

dtusheh, *gwomishi*, *mugishi*, *akhetre* etc., but 'when they opened their respective bags, they all produced 'chillies.'

We were feeling *en rapport* with the author as we followed the description of tribal economy and the organisation of the society, but when we came to the IV Chapter, viz, on the quest for love, and the following on the establishment of love, we found our moorings shaken. The author's attempt to size up Bondo character and personality and his treatment, are so amateurish that one feels what a colossal waste of time and money, such efforts involve. There is not a single book referred to by the author which deals with personality studies: Kardiner, Linton, Kluckhohn, Cora Du Bois, Margaret Mead, Murphy, Flugel, and Bateson who have dealt with personality structure, are unknown to him. We have always felt this lag in the author's study, and we are more convinced now than ever. But with all the shortcomings we have referred to, the book is an entertaining, delightful reading and is likely to serve the purpose for which it is written, to popularise anthropology. This is a grand task and we certainly acknowledge the author's role as an educator in 'anthropology', and 'tribal love'. The nude pictures make the book saleable. We congratulate the author for an interesting tale masterly told

D. N. M.